# THE CENTENARY OF HALIBURTON'S NOVA SCOTIA.

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A. M. MacMechan.

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# THE CENTENARY

*of*

# Haliburton's "Nova-Scotia"

*by*

ARCHIBALD MacMECHAN

Sir Robert Falconer
with the writer's kind regards

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR
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A hundred years ago, last August, there appeared in Halifax a notable work. It was entitled, "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia." In Two Volumes. Illustrated by a map of the Province, and Several Engravings. By Thomas C. Haliburton, Esq. Barrister at Law, and Member of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia." The printer and publisher was young Joseph Howe, known only as a successful journalist. It was a most ambitious undertaking. Where to-day is the young author who would labor for seven years at a history of this province, and where is the public that would buy it when published? For it was an extensive work filling some eight hundred pages, and it was made more expensive by the inclusion of various engraved views and plans.

Many were the difficulties with which the historian had to contend. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, born in Windsor in 1796 and educated at King's College, was practising law in the picturesque town of Annapolis Royal. Beautiful as it was for situation, it had no libraries, public or private,. Nor was there in the whole province any collection of books on which a student of local history could draw. Haliburton's first difficulty then was an almost complete dearth of materials for the work he had in mind. He had to search through an

"infinite variety of old Colonial books, in which the country had been incidentally mentioned, and in the public records."

Young and untrained as he was, Haliburton had distinctly modern ideas of research. Whenever possible, he went to the original sources for his information. He had also to write to London and Boston for works of reference, or have transcripts made from them. The authorities he used are such as would be used even now— Lescarbot, Charlevoix, (for Haliburton knew French), Hutchinson, Belknap. Wynne, Douglas, Holmes and Smollett. He found Winslow's *Letterbook*, in the King's College Library and used it to supplement Minot's account of the Expulsion of the Acadians. He makes a manly avowal of his indebtedness.

"From all these authors I have drawn freely, wherever it suited my purpose, and in some instances I have copied entire passages—an acknowledgement I am particularly desirous of making, both from a proper respect to the labours of others, and also from a wish to avoid the pedantry of crowding the notes with repeated references."

Thus he disarms the critics who accuse him of transcribing from Smollett.

Another engaging feature of the Preface is the acknowledgement of aid received from different men all over the province, and out of it. Fifty-eight names are mentioned. His helpers were in Boston, Quebec, New Brunswick, as well as in Nova Scotia. It is plain that Haliburton's enterprise enlisted public interest. Clergymen, members of the Assembly, army officers, judges, provincial officials all rendered assistance. In the roll are found the names of Joseph Howe, Judge Chipman, Dr. McCulloch, first President of Dalhousie College, Abbé Sigogne, Titus Smith, Major Bazalgette, all representative men, to whom Haliburton's obligations were very real. It was this corps of contributors which made the second volume possible.

"The second volume has been compiled from public records; surveys, charts, personal knowledge; and colonial works and also from an extensive correspondence with respectable and intelligent people in all parts of Nova-Scotia," says the Preface.

When this young provincial lawyer began his work in a poor and remote colony, modern scientific history was not born. According to the story, Hume wrote his continuation of Smollett, lying on a sofa. Macaulay had not yet penned a line of his moving drama of the Whig Revolution, which was to displace the novels on the dressing table of every lady in England. Macaulay was praised for actually visiting the scenes he described, and for reading a whole pamphlet in order to compose a single sentence. Judged even by the standards of to-day, Haliburton's ideas of research and use of materials are worthy of praise. His method was sound.

The Preface also refers to the interruptions from which the work suffered. Public and private business interfered with research and with composition. All together, Haliburton devoted some seven years to historical labors. Why did he? What was his motive? Writing history is very rarely a gainful employment. Macaulay made a fortune in India before he undertook his great work. Historians are either men with private means, or Professors of History from whom historical works are expected. Haliburton was a young lawyer with his way to make. Why did he lay such a burden upon himself? Part of the answer is found in the Preface. It closes with the words,

"The public for whose benefit it is designed, and to whom I now present it with a sincere desire that it may prove useful."

How could a history of the province "benefit" the public and prove useful to it?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to go back to the year 1823. In that year there was published in Halifax a pamphlet entitled "A General Description of Nova Scotia," which, as Chittick says,

"May be fairly enough described as a handbook of information concerning Nova Scotia's history and geography."

This little book has long provided a crux in Haliburton bibliography. Most often it has been attributed to Captain Walter Bromley, ex-Paymaster of the 23rd Foot, philanthropist and reformer, but at last, Chittick has made it clear that Haliburton and no other was the author. The pamphlet was reprinted two years later, possibly pirated. Plainly, if it was pirated, it was considered important.

Haliburton himself supplies the reason why it was written,— to clear the province of misrepresentation. A banquet was given in his honor in 1839. When his health was proposed, reference was made to his "History," and what he said in reply applies also to the "General Description," for that was undoubtedly the *ballon d'essai*, the precursor of the Historical and Statistical Account."

"You have been so good, Sir, as to refer in terms of approbation to an humble effort of mine — the History of Nova Scotia. On that subject permit me to say, that in early life I twice visited Great Britain, and was strongly, and I may say painfully, impressed with a conviction that has forced itself upon the mind of every man who has gone to Europe from this country — namely, that this valuable and important Colony was not merely wholly unknown, but misunderstood and misrepresented. Every book of Geography, every Gazetteer and elementary work that mentioned it, spoke of it in terms of contempt or condemnation. It was said to posess good harbours, if you could see them for the fog, and fisheries that would be valuable, if you only had sun enough to cure the fish — while the interior was described as a land of rock and barren, and doomed to unrelenting sterility. Where facts were wanting, recourse was had to imagination; and one author stated that these woods were infested with wolves. Not content with the introduction of these savage animals, he represents them as being endowed by Providence with the remarkable power of ascending trees in pursuit of their prey . . . In short it (Nova Scotia) had become a bye word and proverbial term of reproach. Its name was a name of terror, in the nurseries, and the threat of sending a refractory child to Nova Scotia was equivalent to sending him to the devil."

Haliburton's impulse to write history, therefore, was patriotic. Like many a Colonial, before and since, he was hurt by the British indifference to the land which meant so much to him, and he desired to dispel the ignorance on which this indifference rested, and to show his province in its true light. The motto on the title-page is Scott's ringing line—

"This is my own, my native land."

In other words, Haliburton's History is to be regarded as propaganda for Nova Scotia. He desired justice for the province. He uses the very phrase. In a letter to Judge Wiswall, he writes:

"I feel great ambition to have this book do justice to our country, and some little credit to myself."

He had hoped to get it published in London, because anything on America "how dull and absurd soever," was eagerly read in England. In this hope he was disappointed, and the History was published by Howe to his pecuniary disadvantage and long financial embarrassment.

Haliburton's History has attained to the dignity of a classic. That means it is oftener praised than read. Though successive generations of Nova Scotian children have, according, to Chittick, learned their history in Haliburton's very phrases, very few of us know the original. The thousand unsaleable copies which cluttered Howe's office for years are now scarce and dear. Copies are seldom to be had, and the market price has risen as high as twenty-five dollars. A somewhat detailed account of the actual contents of this pioneer history of Nova Scotia will, therefore, not be out of place.

Volume I, the history proper, contains eight chapters and an index. Chapters I to V cover nearly three hundred years, from Cabot's landfall in 1497 to the close of the Seven Years War in 1763. Chapter VI is a "Chronological Table"; "Chapter VII is a list of the Governors of Nova Scotia; and chapter VIII. an appendix of documents and letters. The plan is clear and the periods are rationally divided.

The first sentence of the first chapter is arresting:

"The history of every country in Europe commences in the region of fable."

In contrast to this, the history of America rests on authentic documents; the invention of printing practically coincides with the discovery of the new world. Explorers wrote and printed accounts of their explorations. The opening chapter also draws upon Lescarbot for the first account of the Order of Good Cheer, and the festivities which greeted Poutrincourt when he returned to Acadie in November, 1606, from his luckless cruise to the southward. Haliburton writes:

"He was received with great formality by his friends, who united in a procession, and escorted him to the fort, reciting verses, composed by Lescarbot for the occasion."

The "verses" were of course, *The Triumph of Neptune*, so charmingly translated by Mrs. Frederick Richardson, and

read at Annapolis Royal some three years ago. It is very like Haliburton to quote Urquhart, the witty translator of Rabelais, on the pretensions of his countryman, Sir William Alexander as poet and colonizer.

The second chapter covers the period of the French occupation between 1632 and the final cession of Acadie to Britain by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It is a period of petty wars. There was continual conflict between the two fur barons LaTour and Charnisay. Haliburton gave the world the tragedy of Madame Latour, a tragedy which has never yet found fitting commemoration in verse, or prose, or plastic art.

The third chapter covers only thirty-five years, from the cession of Acadie to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. This was the period of neglect, when Walpole maintained his policy of peace, in order to settle the House of Hanover firmly in the English succession, and when unopened despatches from the colonies filled the Duke of Newcastle's closet. Walpole's long peace came to an end in 1739, and the War of Captain Jenkin's Ear began. England has forgotten this ancient war, but it was illuminated by Anson's voyage round the world, a triumph of seamanship and bulldog English pluck, by Vernon's brilliant capture of Porto Bello, "with six ships only," by the glorious defeat of the English column at Fontenoy, and by the incredible reduction of Louisbourg, the "Dunkirk of America", struck down by a host of raw New England militia.

Here, in Nova Scotia, the war had its repercussions. Gallant old Mascarene sustained four sieges in his tumble-down fort at Annapolis Royal, first by Indians under Le Loutre, next by Duvivier with his scaling-ladders all ready for the assault, and his fruitless bounties offered to Mic-macs who would mount them. Marin beset the old town with nine hundred Indian rangers and other troops. There was a fourth leaguer by the redoubtable de Ramezay himself, when Mascarene "walked the ramparts all night."

Haliburton is fair-minded and judicious. In his fourth chapter he gives much space to the Expulsion of the Acadians, the one fact of Nova Scotian history which all the world knows. Haliburton was an old-time, true-blue Tory, but he tells the tale with sympathy and understanding.

Haliburton's final judgement on the expulsion of the Acadians is probably that held by most historians at the present day.

"Such was the fate of these unfortunate and deluded people. Upon an impartial review of the transactions of this period, it must be admitted that the transportation of the Acadians to distant colonies, with all the marks of ignominy and guilt pe-

culiar to convicts, was cruel; and although such a conclusion could not then be drawn, yet subsequent events have disclosed that their expulsion was unnecessary. It seems totally irreconcilable with the ideas, as at this day entertained of justice, that those who are not involved in the guilt shall participate in the punishment; or that a whole community shall suffer for the misconduct of a part. It is doubtless a stain on the Provincial Councils, and we shall not attempt to justify that which all good men have agreed to condemn. But we must not lose sight of the offence in pity for the cuplrits, nor, in the indulgence of our indignation, forget that although nothing can be offered in defence, much may be produced in palliation of the transaction. Had the milder sentence of unrestricted exile been passed upon them, it is obvious that it would have had the effect of recruiting the strength of Canada, and that they would naturally have engaged in those attempts which the French were constantly making for the recovery of the Province.

"Three hundred of them had been found in arms, at one time; and no doubt existed, of others, having advised and assisted the Indians in those numerous acts of hostility, which, at that time, totally interrupted the settlement of the country. When all were thus suspected of being disaffected, and many were detected in open rebellion, what confidence could be placed in their future loyalty? It was also deemed impracticable in those days of religious rancour, for the English colonists to mingle in the same community with Frenchmen and Catholics. Those persons who are acquainted with the early history of the neighbouring colonies of New-England, will easily perceive of what magnitude this objection must have appeared at that period. Amidst all these difficulties, surrounded by a vigilant and powerful enemy and burdened with a population whose attachment was more than doubtful, what course could the Governor adopt, which, while it ensured the tranquility of the Colony, should temper justice with mercy to those misguided people? With the knowledge we now possess of the issue of a contest which was then extremely uncertain, it might not be difficult to point to the measures which should have been adopted; but we must admit that the choice was attended with circumstances of peculiar embarrassment. If the Acadians, therefore, had to lament that they were condemned unheard, that their accusers were also their judges, and that their sentence was disproportioned to their offence; they had also much reason to attribute their misfortunes to the intrigues of their countrymen in Canada, who seduced them from their allegiance to a Government which was disposed to extend to them its protection and regard, and instigated them to a rebellion which it was easy to foresee would end in their ruin."

In these paragraphs it is easy to perceive the workings of the legal mind. Haliburton is swayed to one side by his sympathy for the Acadians, and to the opposite by his strong colonial loyalty to the mother country. He delivers what he must himself have considered a balanced judgment. He does not seem to weigh the fact that for the first three years, the war went against British, and also the fact that fear makes men cruel.

Again Haliburton rises superior to his national prejudices, and shows his sympathy with the French in his account of Coulon de Villiers's bloody surprise of Noble at Grand Pré in February, 1747. He expressed his admiration — as who will not? — at the hardihood of the French.

"From the necessity of making forced marches they had not time to construct camps, and they bivouacked at night on the snow without covering; yet with all these disadvantages— borne down with the weight of their arms, ammunition and rations did these intrepid and zealous people effect this extraordinary march, in the short space of twenty-three days . . . This enterprize of the French, if not well authenticated, would now be deemed incredible."

On one theme Haliburton is not calm and restrained, the theme of Indian warfare. He writes:

"Strangers can form no estimate at all, and the present generation of Americans but a very inadequate one of the nature of a war with savages, and the horrors of an Indian captivity. Their mode of making war was altogether different from that of Europeans; it was a desultory, murderous and predatory excursion, conducted by detached parties, who killed, scalped and plundered their enemy, and retreated with such expedition that they were generally out of reach before an alarm could be given . . . If time and opportunity permitted they carried off their prisoners, to glut their appetite for vengeance by inflicting a lingering and cruel death, or to extort an exorbitant ransom from their friends and relations. Instant execution was often preferable to prolonged captivity. Accustomed to expeditious travelling they could not brook delay, and the impediments of a trackless forest, deep brooks and rugged precipices constituted no apology for not keeping up with the merciless victors. Fed with nauseous food which their stomachs rejected—goaded on all day by the application of blows, which frequently lacerated the flesh, and tortured all night by the myriads of insects which swarm in the thickets of the forest, the prisoners not unfrequently sunk under trials too severe for human nature to support."

These words ring with unmistakable indignation. They sound as if Haliburton had got at first hand the narrative of Marie Payzant, or had conversed with John Witherspoon. Both

were "ransomers" who were seized by Indians in Nova Scotia and dragged off to Quebec. He was close enough to the horrors to feel about them as we cannot feel to-day.

He carries on the story to the end of the Seven Years War and the Peace of Paris; and then he stops short for the quaint reason which has been so often quoted:

"The uniform tranquility and repose which Nova Scotia has since enjoyed, affords us no materials for an historical narrative, but it supplies us with just cause of gratitude to that parent State, which has procured for us the blessings of peace and prosperity, at a time when it was experiencing more national calamity than at any other period of its history."

The passage shows two things, Haliburton's curious theory of history — that it is concerned only with the distant and the romantic, and also the old-time Colonial attitude towards England as the mother country.

Not much attention has ever been bestowed upon Chapter VI., "A Chronological Table", but I, personally, have found it both useful and interesting. Over seventy pages of facts each with its date for a period of sixty-four years are not to be despised by the seeker for historic truth. It interests me to know when the north suburbs were called Gottingen, when the Governor forbade horse-racing at Halifax, when the Nantucket whalers came to Dartmouth, when Sir John Wentworth became a Baronet of Nova Scotia, when Edward Jordan was hanged and gibbeted, when Lord Dalhousie presented the Province with portraits of George II and his Queen, as well as much weightier matters. Apparently these memoranda represent what might have been another volume of the "Account" brought down to Haliburton's own day. They are related to events outside the province, such as the American revolution, and the struggle with Napoleon. Facts are here preserved, which only with difficulty can be found elsewhere.

The appendixes show how sound were Haliburton's ideas on history. He simply prints Lawrence's despatch about the Expulsion, the official correspondence of Winslow, Murray, Preble, etc., and lets the reader draw his own inferences. This printing of 'pièces justificatives' is a thoroughly modern practice. The index is, however, inadequate, and the proof-reading, bad.

The matter of illustrative material had been well considered. A map of the province was indispensable to an understanding of the text. Geography makes history. The routes of the explorers, the expansion of settlements, the movement of troops would be hardly intelligible without a good map to refer to. The events of greater magnitude, which seemed most significant to the world at large, were undoubtedly the two sieges of Louisbourg.

It follows that plans of the city and its environs would be much in place, and the two engraved plans inserted, though minute, are very clear.

Howe and Haliburton were very proud of Halifax, and, apparently, the view of the city from Dartmouth Cove, which forms the frontispiece to the second volume was Howe's suggestion. It did not meet his wishes. The unnamed lady who made the colored sketch did not know that the 'American Artist', i. e. the engraver, wanted a pen drawing, and the latter produced a "meagre and imperfect picture." Still it possesses a certain value in the inconography of Halifax.

Province House was once the pride of the city. A view of it from the N. E. Corner, showing the eastern facade in perspective, faces p. 17. It was drawn and engraved by C. W. Torbett. The legend is "Province House Halifax." The author of Chapter II. leaves no doubt as to his opinion. He declares without reserve or hesitation,

"The Province Building is the best built and handsomest edifice in North America."

The "View of the Front Street of Windsor," facing p. 105 is of special interest because the main object in it is the Haliburton house, in which the author of *The Clockmaker* was born. It is a two storey frame house with a porch in front supported by two pillars. The Victoria Hotel now occupies the site.

The view of Annapolis Royal showing the fort and part of the town has been taken from the Lequille like that by Des Barres in *The Atlantic Neptune* It is difficult to make out the lines of the fortifications; but the two storey brick barracks, the officers' quarters, are represented. A man in a beaver hat is sculling, or poling, his clumsy boat in the river, two cows pose in the foreground and two sentries are on the ramparts. The flag flies over the block-house. All is ruinous; the fort is incapable of defence.

The preface to Holinshed's famous Chronicle in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was a description of England by the Rev. William Harrison, Vicar of Radwinter. It describes the cities and towns, the gardens and orchards, fairs and markets, food and diet, woods and marshes, even the breeds of English dogs and the ships in the Queen's navy. From it, the student can reconstruct the England of Shakespeare. The second volume of Haliburton serves the same purpose for Nova Scotia. There are described the different divisions of the province, a hundred years ago, by competent observers, who were on the ground. No other province of the Dominion has been so surveyed, and the value of the information thus collected will increase, not diminish, with the course of time. There are masses of

data, not elsewhere accessible now, and more care seems to have been taken in the compilation than in Haliburton's own portion of the work. Moreover, the contemporary point of view is indicated unconsciously, in the distinction observed between "Church" and "Dissent," the danger of "republican principles," and so on. The point of view is English and Tory, the point of view of the "respectable" classes.

For example, Dalhousie College is frowned upon.

"It was established in the year 1820, at the suggestion of the Nobleman whose name it bears, and its Trustees are incorporated by Law. It is situated at the end of the old military parade, and is a spacious and handsome structure. The sum of £9,750 is invested in the British 3 per cents as a fund for its support; but the institution being in debt, the Trustees are unable either to complete the interior of the building or to open the classes. The object of its erection is "for the education of youth and students in the several branches of science and literature as they are commonly taught in the University of Edinburgh."-There are three professorships, one for the Greek and Latin classes, another for Mathematics, natural and experimental Philosophy, and a third for Theology and moral Philosophy."

Then comes the comment with the undeniable bias.

"It is generally regretted that so much money should have been so injudiciously expended. One College with the Academies already established, is at present sufficient for the two Provinces of Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick."

Let Dalhousie of to-day consider the pit out of which she was digged. A century ago, one unfinished building burdened with debt stood on the old military parade. To-day, the college grounds comprise sixty acres. There are twelve college buildings with 925 students, and the endowed funds amount to two million, two hundred thousand dollars. Truly the little college has grown great in the first hundred years of history.

"The little seed they laughed at in the dark"—

It is most interesting to have a contemporary view of our old time business men. The old Halifax merchants, the Tremains, Hartshornes, Lawsons, Kidstons, Stairs, Collins, Cogswells, Cunards had a great name for integrity and enterprise. After the great Napoleonic war came business depression which lasted for twenty years. Perhaps it was not so great as Chittick supposes. Once more, here is the view of the informed contemporary observer.

"Halifax, in common with every other part of British America, experienced in its trade the embarassments and difficulties incidental to a sudden transition from war to peace, but as

the Merchants of this place have always traded within the limits of their Capital, the shock, though severe, was not such as to induce either ruin or distress. Business is conducted in a safe and honorable manner, and it is a fact highly creditable to the Mercantile Community, that only one bankruptcy occurred among the respectable part of the Merchants, during the whole of the administration of his Excellency Sir James Kempt, a period of eight years."

Another contemporary view was the renewal of war. That idea colored the thinking of our ancestors a century ago. References are frequent to the "last American war" and to the organization of the militia for coming emergencies, even war with France. Describing the Straits of Canso, Haliburton writes:

"The Nova-Scotia side is elevated above the land of the Island opposite, a circumstance that may prove of consequence should these peaceful banks be crowned on a future day with adverse batteries;"

Possibly he thought that Cape Breton might some time declare her independence of Nova Scotia, and revert to her happy and proud condition when Governor Des Barres reigned at Sydney, the status that was lost in 1820.

Old hopes of expansion are here embalmed. Pictou, for example, was to be the "emporium for the coasting trade of the St. Lawrence," and the centre of extensive manufactures. The account of Sable Island is full of valuable data. Chapter V explains the constitution of the province, the various courts of justice and the functions of the different officials. Sir Alexander Croke is highly praised for his decisions in the court of Vice-Admiralty. The special legal knowledge displayed would argue that Haliburton is himself the author.

Happily, Haliburton's corps of contributors did not share his views on the proper scope of history. Not bloody battles by land and sea, but the conquests of peace are recorded, and the story of Nova Scotia is continued long after the date at which Haliburton wrote "finis." They were wise enough to hand down the accurate and dated details of the settlements made throughout the province, together with their origins and present possessions. Volume II also contains many valuable statistics of population, trade, farm products, sometimes in comparative tables. The political economy of Nova Scotia remains to be written. Throughout this part of the work, a notable desire for accuracy is visible. The phrase "is said to be" occurs frequently, when the contributor does not vouch for the fact from his personal knowledge.

What were Nova Scotians like a hundred years ago? The nameless author of Chapter IV looks at them dispassionately, and sums up as follows:

"The greatest portion of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia are natives; and although there are among them perceptible shades of difference, in manners and customs, the predominant character of the people is Anglo American. The men and women are generally tall and well proportioned, of an agreeable and intelligent expression of countenance. The men are stout and muscular, active, hardy, enterprising and ingenious. The women resemble those of New England in their appearance, and are posssessed of much feminine softness of manner. Politics are not so frequently the subject of conversation as in the adjoining republic, where the state of society is constantly agitated by elections; and as the people live chiefly on their own farms and rely on their own exertions for their support, they have much of that manliness of character which arises from conscious independence. They have a singular aptness in acquiring the mechanic arts. The English statute, requiring a service of seven years as a qualification to exercise a trade, is not in force here, and every person is at liberty to apply his talents as he may find most agreeable or lucrative. In a new country the wants of the inhabitants are both numerous and indispensable, and naturally elicit and promote extraordinary ingenuity and industry. A Nova-Scotia farmer, therefore, while he is well acquainted with every branch of agricultural labour, as far as it is practised in the colony, can often construct the frame of his house, erect his chimney, make his implements of husbandry, or, if occasion requires, shoe his horses.

"From a similar necessity he is in some instances a sailor, and has not only a competent knowledge of navigation, but can actually build the vessel which is to carry to market the proceeds of his farm. This is more or less peculiar to all new countries and well exemplifies the adage 'that necessity is the mother of invention.' Throughout all North America it has been found that the use of ardent spirits has prevailed to excess, in the early stages of the settlement of the several Provinces, and that it decreases with the advancement of the country in population and agriculture. The hardships which the first settlers endure, in rafting timber on the rivers at late periods of the autumn, in fishing, hunting, and other laborious pursuits, has a tendency to induce habits of inebriety, and the low price at which the rum of the West Indies is sold affords ample means of gratifying their propensity. A very salutary change has been effected in this particular, and the consumption of distilled liquors is much decreased. The people are accounted civil in their manners and hospitable. This liberal feeling has had its effects on the Inns, which in very few instances afford a subsistence without the aid of agriculture. Most Innkeepers, therefore, in the country are farmers, and the entertainment or accommodation of the public is not their occupation, but one of their resources. From this feeling so creditable to the country, though the roads are

good the inns are indifferent, which circumstance, as the cause is not obvious to strangers, is often unjustly attributed to the ignorance or poverty of the people, or to a republican spirit of levelling, which prompts the landlord to consider the ordinary attendence upon his guests as beneath the dignity of a free man. The militia, throughout the last American war, was in a very effective state."

How this province and its capital were once regarded can be seen clearly in the utterances of two great Irishmen. In his philippic against the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation, in 1780, Burke said,

"The Province of Nova Scotia was the youngest and favourite child of the board. Good God! what sums has the nursing of that ill-thriven, hard-visaged, and ill-favoured brat cost to this wittol nation! Sir, this colony has stood us in a sum not less than seven hundred thousand pounds. To this day it has made no repayment. It does not even support those offices of expense which are miscalled its government; the whole of that job still lies upon the patient callous shoulders of the people of England."

In a letter to Lord Rockingham, he referred to Halifax as "that nook of penury and cold." Equally severe is gentle Oliver Goldsmith. In his history, he declared that

"Nova Scotia was a colony where men might be imprisoned but not maintained."

He also considered the founding of Halifax a grave mistake, and comments,

"Thus did the nation ungratefully send off her hardy veterans to perish on inhospitable shores, and this they were taught to believe would extend their dominions."

Misrepresentation of this province was rife in the United States. As it was the refuge of the hated "Tories" after the Revolution, the victorious "Whigs" derided the exiles and poured contempt upon the wilderness to which they had been driven. Nova Scotia became "Nova Scarcity" with the Whig satirists and there was too much truth in the gibe.

But hear Mrs. Williams, author of *The Neutral French* writing as late as 1841:

"Nova Scotia has as yet been an unknown land, a place where the ignorant of every country seem to consider as the extremity of the north pole, and hence the saying 'cold as Nova Scotia,' 'barren as Nova Scotia'; and when some poor houseless vagabond is seen to pass, that he looks as though he was bound to Nova Scotia,' or of some hardened villain who is a nuisance to the community, that 'he ought to be banished to Nova Scotia."

Nova Scotia was then defamed in two continents; the Province and its capital had passed into a proverb for misery and barrenness. It was to combat these widespread calumnies that Haliburton wrote the *Historical and Statistical Account*. His motive was strongly patriotic, and this local patriotism may also be discerned in the establishment of *The Acadian Magazine*. *The Halifax Monthly Magazine*, the conversations of "The Club" in Howe's newspaper *The Nova Scotian*. The evidence is very strong, and finds perhaps its clearest exposition in Howe's address to the Halifax Mechanics' Institute on Guy Fawkes Day, 1834. No one has surpassed that statesmanlike study of local conditions, or sketched a broader scheme of development for this Province. Moreover no one has recognized more frankly the inescapable limitations of Nova Scotia.

Extracts from Howe's letters show how he was involved in the production of the History. Reviewing his success, as a journalist, with his printing office and with *The Nova Scotian* in the year 1829, Howe says,

"In addition to this, I have been printing 3,000 copies of Haliburton's History of the Province by which I shall clear a handsome sum, so that, all things considered, I have great reason to be thankful, as I believe few who began with nothing have done more in a year and a half."

Howe was of a sanguine temperament. He had printed three times the number of copies usual for such works as the History, for he had faith in his province and his friend; but he was too daring. In his business memoranda of the same year, he wrote:—

"This year published Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia, which was a ruinous speculation. It cumbered my office for two years, involved me in heavy expenses for wages, and in debts for paper, materials, binding and engraving. It was to have been published on joint account, he making some cash advances, and we dividing the profits and loss. To simplify matters I bought the whole, relying upon heavy sales in England the United States and the other Provinces. None sold abroad. The Book, though fairly printed, was wretchedly bound, the engravings were poor, and I was left with about 1000 copies scattered about, unsaleable on my hands."

1. Chittick, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, p. 143 f.
2. id. p. 144.

Haliburton's plan of the "Account" seems more worthy of praise, the more carefully it is considered. No such plan has yet been executed, even if conceived, for any other province or colony. It is in accordance with modern ideas and practice, and must always form the starting-point for all students of our

history and economic development, as well as being a rich mine of information on early conditions in the Province. The "Historical and Statistical Account" is a monument to the enterprise of our ancestors a century ago and deserves more attention than has been given it. It might almost be worth while to issue a new, corrected, and annotated edition, with a proper introduction. Perhaps some patriot of this generation will be inspired to emulate Haliburton, to carry on his history through the nineteenth century and make a corresponding survey of Nova Scotia at the present time.

[Reprinted from "The Halifax Chronicle," Jan. 1, 1930]

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The centenary of Haliburton's Nova Scotia.

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